584 for the perpetuation of the family was the prime
596 motive for matrimony. Very often people married without knowing each other previously. Since to marry was to bring forth a new generation, concubinage for the purpose of procreation was not frowned upon. Where there were no sons in the family, adoption of the children of close relatives or friends was encouraged. As Mencius taught: There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no heirs is the greatest of them.

596 Although the extended family was pre-
593 dominant in pre-Japanese Formosan society, no familial relationship was closer than that found among the members of a nuclear family. In an extended family, a father might have a tight control over his married sons, but he would grow old and his sons' attentions and affections would revolve around their wives and their children.

Within a nuclear family the father-son relationship was said to be the closest.[3] A son

3. Shoji Yamanaka, "Rigen ni arawareta Taiwan oyobi Shina no kazoku seikatsu," ["Family Life in Taiwan and China as Expressed in Sayings and Proverbs"], Taiwan bunka ronso, Vol. II, [Symposium of the Culture of Taiwan], Taihoku, Shimizu shoten, 1943, pp. 1-107.

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593 never exposed his father's mistakes or misdemeanors. A close bilateral dependence between father and son among the poor families and unilateral dependence of son upon father in rich families were the rule generally. The father was expected to exercise disciplinary power over his sons, and the mother was to care for and love them. Often a boy relied on his father's reputation to establish himself in a new situation. When a parent died, the son was charged with responsibility for the funeral rites, the selection of a grave site, the maintenance of the grave, and periodic sacrifices at the ancestral shrine. Ritual obligations functioned not only as a medium for the continuation of the reciprocal parent-child relationship, but also as a means of validating one's position in the community.[4] The father-daughter relationship was formal and temporary. Poor people preferred not to have girl babies because female children would be dependent upon the parents for sustenance during their early years and upon maturity would marry and join other families. However, the daughter's children always attracted the grand-parents' love and attention.

4. Morton H. Friend, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, Praeger, 1953, p. 53.

596 Brothers were not bound to each other
593 with the same strength each felt for the father. The degree of cohesion was determined by their social and economic circumstances. When it was necessary to protect the family from an enemy without, brothers were considered as close as one's limbs.[5] If there were differences in occupations and economic interests, a division of the family after the death of the father was inevitable. Then each son formed a nuclear or joint family for himself, and brothers became mere neighbors. But such instances were rare. Many factors bound together the nuclear units, making the typical family grouping extended and inclusive.

596 The social function of the extended family
411 was as a unit for self-protection against possible attack by aborigines, bandits, enemy clans, and criminals. For defense against so many enemies, village and clan members united, but the extended family was the basic defense unit. In well-to-do families there were stores of rifles, spears, and other weapons. Even today, gun loopholes can be found in the outer walls of some old houses.[6]

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5. Yamanaka, loc, cit.
6. Ibid.